

by

Than Tun

The Burma Historical Commission has almost all the rubbings of the inscriptions we used and had it not been for the good and kind help rendered to us by the staff of that institute and the permission to use the rubbings, our researches in the medieval history of Burma would have been impossible. On behalf of my colleagues and myself, I would like to express our thanks to the Commission and its staff. I have a microfilm copy of the readings made by Professor G.H. Luce of the inscriptions of Burma and when deciphering the inscriptions we have to use it wherever we are in doubt and that is fairly frequent. For all that and for being our teacher in Burmese epigraphy, we owe him much gratitude.

It is from the fall of Pagan that we are to begin our story now. Pagan civilization broke up 'under attacks from without and centrifugalism within' and the details of this tragic scene are most admirably told by Professor. G. H. Luce in several of his papers¹ but allow me to repeat very briefly some important parts of the story. A nominal kingship was revived at Pagan in the person of *Klawewā*² who was anointed king on Monday 30 May 1289³. He was formerly *Tala Sukri*⁴—the Headman of Dala (Twante) and as king he was known as *Rhuynansyan*⁵—the Lord of the Golden Palace. His regnal title was *Siri Tribhawanādityapawarapanditadhammaraja*⁶. To make himself secure on the throne he was in great need of help and so early in 1297 he sent his son and heir *Singhapati* to Peking⁷. On 20 March 1297 the Mongol Emperor granted an official appointment to *Klawewā* as the king of Burma. In spite of that, by 17 Dec. 1297, he was mentioned as *Nankla Mañ*⁸—the

* Read at the History Session held on the occasion of the Sixth Anniversary of the Kanthasanelai Group on 20 IX 1959 with Professor G. H. Luce in the Chair.

1. See G. H. Luce: "The Early *Syām* in Burma's History" *JSS*, XLVI, ii, August 1958, pp. 137 flg.; G. H. Luce: *Pagan Dynasty II, A. D. 1174-1301*, mimeographed and privately circulated by DSHRI, in Sept. 1956.

2. Pl. 580 a³, S. 655.

3. Pl. 282 1/ *Sakarac 651 khu Cay nhac M'waytā l-chan 12 ryāk 2 niy ā phurhālōn apisip kham ruy...*

4. Pl. 392 16, S. 663

5. Pl. 287a 4, 9, 10, S. 659, Pl. 394 1, S. 664, Pl. 417 2, S. 650

6. Pl. 276a 3, S. 654

7. E. Huber: "La fin de la Dynastie de Pagan," *BEFEO*, IX, p. 670; Luce: "*Syām*" *JSS*, XLVI, ii, p. 155

8. Pl. 286 2, S. 659

dethroned king. Professor Luce pointed out that according to the Chinese his dethronement and removal to Myinzaing occurred only in June - July of 1298⁹. Perhaps the reason of this contradiction of statements is that the usurpers took special care to delay all information of a vassalage in reaching the ears of the suzerain as long as possible and in the meantime to do all mischief in the name of the unfortunate vassal so that the overlord would be only too glad to hear his fall. This also explains why the Mon envoys to China were arrested in *Klawewā's* name in March-April 1298. The Burmese account given in an inscription from the Thatyapyissi monastery, Myinzaing, leaves no room for any doubt. It says:

// *Sakrac 659 khu Mruikkasuiw nhac Plasuiw l-chan 13 ryak 5 niy lhyañ Nankla Mañ Kwan Prok Krī thwak taw mū so mañ mat Satyāpicañ pan rakā Kroñnan Krā nhañ riy cañ taw khla e' mañ mat krī Asañkhyā le pan pā ruy riy cañ taw khla pā e'*¹⁰

On 17 December 1297 the Dethroned King came to the Great Variegated Hall and as the minister *Satyāpicañ* had requested, he poured the royal pure water from a *Kroñnan* jar. The great minister *Asañkhyā* had his permission also to pour the royal pure water.

This pouring of water by a king or an ex-king or a king-to-be, in recognition of somebody giving certain lands to the Religion, should not, I think, be taken as a religious function attached to the kingly estate.¹¹ The growing increase of the religious lands was a serious threat to the royal treasury as the king could not collect revenue from these lands. So starting with *Klawewā*, it was the policy of later Pagan kings to check this growth.¹² A confiscation of monastic land might cause an uneasiness in the relation between king and monks. So very tactfully,¹³ the kings had evolved a system which requires their prior knowledge of all dedications or their presence in all dedication ceremonies so that they could withhold some good lands from becoming tax-free while at the same time they should be seen pouring the libation water and announcing publicly *anumodanā*-the appreciation. One might also have noticed that on such occasions more of *mliyi cim*¹⁴- waste land, *taw cim mle*¹⁵- forest waste land, *to ruiñ mle*¹⁶- forest wild land, *tau mrun*¹⁷ forest? barren land, and *mliyi khrok*¹⁸- dry land, were dedicated than some good cultivable land. This also gave the monks a useful work of claiming waste lands under crop and quicken the economic development of the country

9. Luce: "Syām," *JSS*, XLVI, ii, p. 156

10. Pl. 286 1-4, S. 659

11. Luce: "Syām," *JSS*, XLVI, ii, p. 156

12. Pl. 90 16-26, S. 597; Pl. 296 11-16, S. 689; Pl. 521 1, S. 720; U 64 7-24, S. 748

13. Pl. 417 2, S. 650

14. Pl. 416b 2, 3-4, S. 677; Pl. 475 8, S. 706

15. Pl. 518 40, S. 718; Pl. 519a 4, S. 718; L. 682 12, S. 737; U 73a 14, U 73b 11

S. 760

16. U 87a 2, U 87b 5, S. 769

17. Pl. 472 19-22, S. 705

18. Pl. 475 9, S. 707

19. Pl. 521 1, S. 720

after many years of war. At the same time checkings were made as to the authenticity of the religious lands¹⁹ from time to time. Thus, I believe, *Klawcwā* continued attending a dedication ceremony at Myinzaing together with *Asaṅkhyā*- the eldest of the three brothers who were in real power then. They put him to death on 10 May 1299.^{19a}

The three brothers were mentioned in an inscription dated 13 February 1289 as *Asaṅkhyā Rajasaṅkram Sīhasūra amat kri suṃ yok*- the three great ministers *Asaṅkhyā*, *Rajasaṅkram* and *Sīhasūra*²⁰. From the time when the Mongols threatened invasion to the time when *Klawcwā* became king there was a period of nearly five years and it seems that these three brothers had taken advantage of the disturbances happening in those years, in consolidating their hold on the Eleven *Kharuṃ* area of Kyaukse, which was the chief granary of the Pagan kingdom. Perhaps *Klawcwā* had the control over the six *Kharuṃ* area of Minbu, which was of course, of less importance than Kyaukse. Thus a king at Pagan found it necessary to try and get the friendship of the masters of Kyaukse in such a troubled time and he had to pay a high price for this friendship. He became a nominal ruler. Because in an inscription dated 16 February 1293, the three brothers claimed themselves to be the equals of the Pagan king and also that they were the generals who defeated the *Taruk* army²¹. They were now the actual rulers of the Central Burma. Although they were of Shan origin, unlike the Northern Shans, they were Buddhists and as they left all their inscriptions in Burmese it seems that they were thoroughly Burmanised. They got help from Chieng Mai in the occupation of Kyaukse²² and on the strength of an inscription of the Kudwetawya monastery, near Hpaloppedaw and Singun villages, Sama, Paukmyaing, Kyaukse²³, Professor Luce suggests that after *Klawcwā*'s dethronement, one *Sirirājā*, probably a member of the old Burmese aristocracy, made a stand against the Shan occupation of Kyaukse with some temporary success on the west side of the Panlaung in about the later half of the year 1299²⁴.

Sīri Trībhavanādittiryāpawaradhammarāja Maṅ Lulan (Tsou Nieh) was

19a. Luce: *Pagan Dynasty II* (1174 to 1301), p. 12

20. Pl. 417 2-3, S. 650. Professor Luce points out that they were not present at *Klawcwā*'s coronation on 30 May 1289 and he suggests that it was probably a slight. (Luce: *Syām*, p. 150) But the inscription which mentions the said coronation (Pl. 282) gives no description of the occasion except that *Jeyyasathiy*, formerly a *saṃpṇāṃ*, was made *satthiy* (? King's Banker) then and received 150 *pay* from *Khanṭi*. There was nothing unusual about the inscription and the fact that *Jeyyasathiy* failed to mention the names of other officers and ministers does not necessarily mean that they were not at the coronation. On the contrary, it is more likely that all officers of importance in the realm not excepting the brothers were there and one cannot expect *Jeyyasathiy* to give a list of ministers while his primary concern was to give a list of his meritorious deeds.

21. Pl. 276a 4-5, S. 654

22. Luce: "Syām," *JSS*, XLVI, ii, p. 153

23. Pl. 293, S. 661

24. Luce: "Syām," *JSS*, XLVI, ii, pp. 153 and 158

the next king at Pagan²⁵ and he gave his first audience on 8 May 1299. He had the support of the three brothers together with other important ministers like *Siṅkasū*, *Takkhanā*, *Caturaṅkapicañ*, *Akkapatiy*, *Ītapaccarā*, *Puñña*, *Sūpharac*, *Phyakkasū* and *Mahāsaman*²⁶. His rival claimant, another son of *Klawewā* known as *Kumārakassapa*²⁷ escaped into Yunnan, in September 1299 to invoke the help of the Mongols. But it was the three brothers who started the hostilities. In January 1300 *Asaṅkhyā* invaded Cheng-mien, i.e., Burma north of Mandalay, and took Nga Singu and Male. On 22 June 1300, *Kumāra Kassapa* was declared by the Mongol Emperor as the rightful king of Burma. It was only on 15 January 1301 that the invading army reached Male. The enemy under the command of Mangu Turumish was not 1,200,000 strong as maintained in an inscription of A.D. 1334²⁸. It had less than 12,000 soldiers²⁹. While the army marched to Kyaukse, *Kumāra Kassapa* went to Pagan. He came to be known as *Taruk prañ lā so Taktaumū maṅkri*³⁰ - the king who came from the land of the Turks and ascended the throne. He entered Pagan without difficulty but he went back with the Mongols when they retreated. The invaders reached Myinzaing on 25 January 1301 but were persuaded to go back and so the retreat begun on 6 April 1301. To avoid further invasions, envoys were sent with tributes to China³¹. On 4 April 1303, the province of Cheng-mien was abolished.

Of the three brothers the youngest *Sīhasūra* I was the most ambitious. He assumed the title of *Chaṇḍphlūsyāṇ* - the Lord of the White Elephant,³² by 1295 and *maṅkri*³³ - the great king, by 1296. He was not to be confused with *Maṇ Lulāṇ* of Pagan who also had the title of *Chaṇḍphlūsyāṇ*³⁴. As a matter of fact he was the direct opposite of Pagan *Chaṇḍphlūsyāṇ* who very meekly submitted to the foreign suzerainty. He and his brothers led the 'resistance movement' and claimed that they fought and conquered the *Taruk* army. In 1306 he was no longer a simple *Sīhasūra*. He became *Anantasīha-sūrajeyyadeva*³⁵. On 20 Oct 1309 he had his coronation with the regnal title of *Siri Tribhawanādityapawarasīhasūradhammarājā*³⁶ and as usual with the kings he gave away lands to various religious establishments.³⁷ It seems that he never failed to seize the opportunity of making public the fact that it was they who saved the country from the foreigners. When the eldest brother died, it was recorded as:

25. Pl. 290b 2-3, S. 661; Pl. 390 5, 16-17, S. 661

26. Pl. 290b 10-13, S. 661

27. See Y.S. ch. 20; Luce: "Syām," JSS, XLVI, ii, pp. 158-9

28. Pl. 454a 9 and Pl. 454b 7, S. 696

29. Luce: "Syām," JSS, XLVI, ii, p. 161

30. Pl. 396a 4, Pl. 396b 1, S. 664

31. Envoys sent on 27 July 1301, 16 September 1301, 4 November 1301, 6 October 1303, 1 February 1308, 3 August 1308, 27 December 1312, 31 July 1315 and 20 July 1319. See Luce: "Syām," JSS, XLVI, ii, pp. 163-4

32. Pl. 389c 8, S. 657; Pl. 406a 19, S. 669; Pl. 482 13, S. 662

33. Pl. 285 5, S. 658

34. Pl. 390 5, S. 661

35. Pl. 403a 3, 6, S. 668

36. Pl. 487 4, S. 734

37. Pl. 501 1, S. 671

*Sakarac 672 khu Phussa nhac kachun la plañ niy lwai 25 phlawā 2 lā niy Asaṅkhayā Rājā Siṅkasū mañ 3 yok ma khlok ma khlyā prañ tuñ kā kuiw ma tun ma lhup up sa rhaw khā akuīw mlat cwā Asaṅkhayā nat (rwā lā) khay Rājā Siṅkasū atu prañ kri up rac e'*³⁸

On 13 April 1310, when the exalted *Asaṅkhayā*, the elder (brother) of the three kings *Asaṅkhayā*, *Rājā* and *Siṅkasū* who had firmly controlled the country and capital without being timid and frightened died, *Rājā* and *Siṅkasū* together continued to control the great capital.

Here I would like to point out that the version given in the *Hmannūn*³⁹ that *Rājā* died in 1305 and *Asaṅkhayā* was poisoned by *Sīhasūra* in 1310 is wrong. According to the above inscription, *Asaṅkhayā* died in 1310 and the two younger brothers continued to rule the country firmly to the advantage of the people in general. He built a new capital at Pinya in 1312⁴⁰ and called it *Wijayapūra*.⁴¹ He was also known as *Tacisyan*⁴² - the Lord of One or *Chanphlū taci asyan*⁴³ - the Lord of One White Elephant. His chief queen was *Ratanāpurn*.⁴⁴

Tacisyan was succeeded by his son *Uccanā VI* ⁴⁵ in 1324.⁴⁶ This *Uccanā VI* was contemporary with *Uccanā V* ⁴⁷ the governor of Pagan. There was a great flood during his time and it was recorded as:

// *Sakarac 693 khu Āsir nhac nhuik riṃ rū mlok ruy kū kloñ le pruiw e' puthuiw purhā le mlyaw e'*⁴⁸

In 1331 a mad water i.e. a great flood, rose (and consequently) the hollow - pagodas and monasteries fell and the solid pagodas were swept away.

Although there was no mention of other destructions, a flood that caused brick buildings to fall and to have been carried away in the flood would certainly cause much destruction to other civil buildings and the cultivation of the country as well. He built one big pagoda at *Maṅklañtim*⁴⁹, another one at *Saṅtoñ* in 1332⁵⁰ and still another at *Mraṅkhuntuiñ* in 1335.⁵¹ Lastly he built a big *kū* in 1340 at the place where he lived

38. Pl. 412a 2, S. 672

39. *The Hmannan Yazawin*, I, p. 407

40. L. 446 4, S. 674; *Hmannan* I, p. 407

41. Pl. 487 7, S. 734, Pl. 488b 4, S. 712

42. Pl. 499c 9, S. 71(5)

43. U 34a 10, S. 739; U 73a 1, S. 760; U 87a 1, S. 769

44. Pl. 436b 3, S. 688, Pl. 445b 8, 27, S. 694

45. U 87a 1, S. 769

46. U 87a 1 says he was *Sīhasūra*'s younger brother.

47. Pl. 451 1, S. 696

48. L. 608b 1, S. 729

49. Pl. 445a 1, S. 692

50. Pl. 446a 1, S. 694

51. Pl. 455a 1, S. 697

before he became king.⁵² Apart from these meritorious deeds we know nothing else about him. The next ruler was *Mrañcuin Cañsū* or *Cañsū V* who became king on 1 September 1340.⁵³ There is no mention of this king in the Chronicles. His queen was *Caw Thwat*⁵⁴ with whom he got two daughters, viz. *Caw Krī* and *Caw Im Krī Sañ*. *Caw Krī* was married to his nephew – the next king *Sīhasūra II*.⁵⁵ *Sīhasūra II* or *Chtaiphlū 5 ci askhiñ* – the Lord of Five White Elephants, succeeded his uncle and father-in-law on 29 March 1344.⁵⁶ He was popularly known as *Nāciasyañ*⁵⁷ and his regnal title was *Pawarapañḍitasīhasūradhammarājā*.⁵⁸ *Aplonta Co Mañ Nai*⁵⁹ was one of his concubines. We know by name a few of his children. They were: *Uccanā*⁶⁰ who was married to *Co Calā*,⁶¹ daughter of *Klaucwā II* the King of *Cakuin*; *Cañsū Nātonmyākri*⁶² whose sister gave birth to *Muiwñāñ Satuīw*⁶³ who became king in *Ava* later; *Mañ Pulai*⁶⁴, *Klaucwā II*⁶⁵, *Siñkasū*⁶⁶, and *Sīhasūra III*.⁶⁷ Of these *Klaucwā II* succeeded him on 12 December 1350⁶⁸ as King *Srī Tribhawanādityapawaradhammarājā*.⁶⁹ One remarkable thing done during his reign was that on 12 March 1359, some lithic inscriptions were collected to make a check on the religious lands.⁷⁰ Perhaps it was done on a similar line with what King Bodawpaya had done on 24 July 1793⁷¹ and one could imagine that a certain amount of damage must have been done to the inscription stones in the course of collecting. It was also during the last year of his reign i.e. 1359 that the *Syañ* came and destroyed much of his land.⁷² He died on 19 March 1359⁷³ and was succeeded by his brother *Sīhasūra III*.⁷⁴ This *Sīhasūra* is also not mentioned in the Chronicles. We know two of his queens, viz. *Nanmamay*⁷⁵ and *Acamlat*.⁷⁶ In 1362 the *Syañ* came again to disturb the country.⁷⁷ I think he was never able to subdue them and with him ended the *Pañya* line of kings. He probably died in 1360⁷⁸ and the disturbances in his land remained unchecked until 1368. It was recorded as:

// *phurā mlat mwan nibban lwan pri sāsanā* 1912 *nhac Sīhasū nat rwā la ka amyā sā khyāñ kway khrañ nhac phak ruk rak prañ thai sai sai tryā Asaṅghayyā mlok bhak rwā kuiw up lhā cī nhañ mañ mū lhyāñ*⁷⁹

After the death of *Sīhasūra III*, families were broken up on both sides⁸ as there was much disturbances within the capital, the just *Asaṅghayyā*

52. Pl. 459a¹, S. 702

53. Pl. 461a³, S. 702

54. Pl. 483b², S. 709

55. Pl. 488b², S. 712

56. Pl. 470a¹, S. 705

57. L. 696b⁹, S. 739

58. L. 446 4-5, S. 674, L. 696b¹⁰, S. 739

59. L. 696b¹⁻², S. 739

60. Pl. 494 21, S. 714

61. L. 688 14, S. 737

62. U. 200b 24, S. 769

63. U. 161a 2, S. 979

64. Pl. 507a 16, S. 716

65. Pl. 494 3, S. 714

66. Pl. 49421, S. 714

67. L. 696 10, S. 723

68. Pl. 486a 1-3, S. 712

69. Pl. 487 9, S. 712

70. Pl. 521 1, S. 720

71. *Konbaungzet*, 1905, p. 662

72. L. 642 4, S. 721

73. L. 642 1-2, S. 721; ? Pl. 530 1, S. 722

74. U. 50 11, S. 739

75. Pl. 540b 1, S. 725

76. L. 606 10-11, S. 723

77. U. 50 17, S. 7398

78. L. 800a 6-7, S. 762

79. L. 698a 9-11, S. 739

conquered the northern villages and became king in A.B. 1912 (A.D. 1368).

When the country was restored to normal conditions again the granddaughter of *Asaṅkhayyā* who was the Queen of *Tryāphyā* III of *Awa*, started a sort of religious and literary movement in about 1373 by inviting both Brahman and Sinhalese teachers to the country.⁸⁰

Sagaing was also a contemporary capital and its kings were the descendants of *Paṇya Taciasyaṇ*. A comprehensive list of its kings is given in an inscription dated 1408 and it is best to reproduce it here.

|Sakarac 770 Phalakuin nhac Tapon l-chañ tac chai nā ryak Sokkrā ne lhyañ rhwe lak ruṁ tau ā phlañ Mraṁma prañ Tanluñ prañ Kulā prañ aluṁm akun cuṁm kuiw acuṁ ra so S'ri Tribhawanādityapawarapaṇḍita-dhammarājā hu so re mle asyañ phlac so phurā rhañ Anoratthāmañcau e' myoksā tau phlac so toñ miphurā Cau sañ kā miphurā mañ gā ma hut phuṁ loñ tau mañkri Taciasyañ || Taciasyañ lwan lhyañ Taciasyañ sā Cackuiñ Mañkri Asaṅkhayyā| Asaṅkhayyā lwan lhyañ mañkri Tryāphyā kiñ| Tryāphyākri lwan lhyañ Mañkri Rhwetoñtak| Rhwetoñtak lwan lhyañ Mañkri Klacwā| Klacwā lwan lhyañ Mañraitauthwak| Mañraitauthwak lwan lhyañ Mañkri Tryāphyāñai| Tryāphyāñai lwan lhyañ Mañkri Mañ Plan mañ phlac e| Mañ Plan lak dhak Phwātau Cuiw Mañ Kuiw Tau Kri miphurā mlok e' miphurā kā nhac pā ma hi Cuiw Mañ Kuiw Tau Kri sā te| Mañ Plan lwan lhyañ sā tau Satuṁ Mañphyā gā mi mi e' rhwe lak ruṁm tau ā phlañ Mraṁma prañ thak tu phak kañ ruy rai khrañ alwan khwañ ā dhan ruy ran mañ khapsim kuiw...c 3 nhac te nhim nañ nuiñ prī so nat rwā lā khai| Tryāphyā kri mañ mlok e' Tryāphyā kri lak thak phwātau nīma acma toñ miphurā mlok miphurā mlok e' nan thak 35 nhac ne e'| Tryāphyā kri lwan lhyañ sā tau Tryāphyā mañ mlok e'| Tryāphyā nat rwā lwan lhyañ Tryāphyā kri sā Aniratthācau mañ phlac e'⁸¹

On 28 February 1409, the living lord *Anoratthāmañcau* who by the golden might of his strong arm ruled all of the lands of *Mraṁma*, *Tanluñ*, *Shyañ* and *Kulā* and who was called *S'ri Tribhawanādityapawarapaṇḍitadhammarājā* had as a consort the South Queen *Cau* who was not a mere queen. (She was) a descendant of *Taciasyañ*. After the death of *Taciasyañ*, his son *Asaṅkhayyā* the great king of *Sagaing*; after *Asaṅkhayyā* the great king *Tryāphyākri*; after *Tryāphyākri* the great king *Klacwā*; after *Klacwā* (there was) *Mañraitauthwak*; after *Mañraitauthwak* the great king *Tryāphyāñai*; during the time of *Mañ Plan*, the royal grand mother *Cuiwmañ Kuiw Tau Kri* was made queen and as queen there was no one else except *Cuiwmañ Kuiw Tau Kri*.

80. L. 698a 24-6, S. 739

81. U 90a 1-10, S 783

After the death of *Mañ Plan*, his son *Satuiv Mañphyā* by his own golden might of his strong arm became unrivalled in the land of *Mrañma* in respect of bravery and strength. In 3 years (time) he was able to crush all opposition. Then he died. *Tryāphyākri* became king. *Tryāphyākri* made my grandmothers—the two sisters, north queen and south queen and lived on the throne for 35 years. When *Tryāphyākri* died, *Tryāphyākri*'s royal son *Anirattthācau* became king.

Now, in this list of kings from *Cakuin*, *Asaṅkhayyā* ruled from ? 1315 to 1327 and he was a junior son of *Sīhasūra* I of *Pañya*. Therefore I would like to call this *Cakuin* house as the junior branch of the *Sīhasūra* dynasty. *Asaṅkhayyā*'s queen was *Kuiw Taw Kri*.⁸² When he died he was succeeded by his brother called *Tryāphyā* I, who became king on 5 February 1327.⁸³ His mother was Queen *Ratanāpum* and she left an interesting inscription recording repairs at the *Krakyak cetī* said to be famous throughout the land from *Turuk* kingdom in the north to *Muttama* in the south.⁸⁴ The same inscription mentions her son's accession to the *Cakuin* throne as:

[Sakkarac 688 khu Tapon la plañ 5 niy lhyañ] khrañsey khañ sa rhuy ton nan thak tak kha pri sa Sīhasūra hū amañ thañ sa (Chañphu) asyañ mañ (khrañsiy) e' (sākri) phlac tha so Cackuin mañkri Tryāphyā...

Tryāphyā the great king of *Cackuin*, who was the senior son of the Lion King called *Sīhasūra*, the Lord of the White Elephant, ascended the lion throne on 5 February 1327.

The date in the Chronicles is four years earlier. He became king when his step brother *Asaṅkhayyā* died. The Thamantaza Pagoda inscription dated 1343 gives us another interesting detail in connection with the next two kings of *Cakuin*, viz. *Rhwetoñtak* or *Anorathā* II (1335-1339) and *Klacwā* II (1339-1348). The inscription begins with *Cañsū* II of *Pukam*. King *Cañsū* personally came to this place in *Liyson* in A. D. 1194 to make a dam and ordered one thousand *Lawa* to look after it. When the works on the dam failed one *Mañkala Siñkha* was sent by the king to build a *baddasīma* on the site. Then in 1255 a rich man from *Macchimadesa* known by the name of *Smancatā* came and settled there. He built a brick monastery to the east of King *Cañsū*'s *sīma*. He also made a big image of Buddha sitting under the hood of the King of Serpents. In addition to this a large estate was given to this establishment. Various donors appeared to add more land to this estate. Then:

Sakkarac 705 khu Klacwā Mañtum twañ pun so mañkri Rhuytoñtak thuiv ruy suñ yū kha e' [Samancatā phurā athañ tau nhuik tai tau mū ruy] yokpha Satuiv krī / Klacwā nrai Kuivtau krī Klacwā mañ khriy tau anā hī ruy phurā thañ tau suiv ma wañ tat rakā sā tau e' phyañ tau le phurā kuiv

82. Pl. 472 15, S. 705 83. Pl. 436b 1, S. 688 84. Pl. 436b 4-5, S. 688

lhwaṃ e'ṇa sā Klacwā asak le ma siy anā le pyo ruy mañ aṇlac rok mū kāḥkrīcwā so koñmhu mū aṇ hu pan nak e'toñ so chu atuñ mañkrī mlok e'

In 1343 *Klacwā* was hiding at *Mañtum* when the great king *Rhuytoñtak* attacked and took him captive. On the way, they stopped at the pagoda. His brother-in-law *Satuīwkrī* and his mother *Kuīw Taw Krī* went to the pagoda and spread his cloth on his behalf and his mother said: "Because of sores on his feet *Klacwā* could not appear before the Presence. But his cloth is spread here. If *Klacwā* lives long and his feet are cured and became king, we promise to bring about a big dedication." As it was asked, he became king.

The Chronicles give the other part of this interesting story. *Rhuytoñtak* or *Anorathā* II⁸⁵ imprisoned his father *Tryāphyā* I and made himself king. *Klacwā* II his brother and brother-in-law fled to Mindon. But they were captured by *Rhuytoñtak* and brought back to Sagaing. In the meanwhile *Tryāphyā* I organised a conspiracy and got *Rhuytoñtak* killed. But *Tryāphyā* I was also killed and thus *Klacwā* II, being the next heir to the throne, became king without taking part in any of these conspiracies. One of his queens was *Cau Pa Uiw*,⁸⁶ daughter of King *Uccanā* VI (1325-1340) of *Pañya*. From this union was born *Co Calā*⁸⁷ who was married to *Uccanā*, the son of King *Sihusūra* II (*Naciasyañ*). *Klacwā* II was succeeded by his brother *Mañrai-taithwak* or *Anorathā* III⁸⁸ in 1348. He was again succeeded by a brother *Tryāphyā* II⁸⁹ in 1350. Their sister *Cuīw Mañ Kuīw Taw Krī*⁹⁰ married twice. With her first husband *Satuīw Krī*⁹¹ she gave birth to *Satuīw Mañphyā*⁹² who later became the founder of *Awa* in 1364. *Satuīw Mañphyā*'s two sisters became the South Queen and the North Queen of his successor *Tryāphyā* III at *Awa*. *Cuīw Mañ Kuīw Taw Krī*'s second husband known as *Mañ Plan*⁹³ became the successor of *Tryāphyā* II on 23 February 1352⁹⁴. He is also known as *Sihapati*⁹⁵ and he reigned until 1364 when his capital *Cakuñ* was destroyed by the northern *Syam*.

Satuīw Mañphyā became king in 1364⁹⁶ and he was the first founder of *Awa*⁹⁷ and his regnal title was *Siri Tiribhawanātittiyapawaradhammarāja*⁹⁸. He was a warrior king and in an inscription dated 1365 we have one reference to his coming back from war. It says:

85. Pl. 472 19, S. 705

86. L. 696b 3, 10, S. 739

87. L. 688 14, S. 737; L. 696b 3, 11, S. 739; U. 34a 6, 10, S. 729; U. 87a 23, S. 769

88. U. 92a 5, 5, S. 783; U. 95 4, 12, S. 785

89. Pl. 507a 27, S. 716; U. 92a 5, 5-6, S. 783

90. U. 92a 6, 7, S. 783

91. Pl. 472 15, S. 705

92. U. 92a 7, S. 783

93. U. 94b 1, S. 785

94. U. 92a 6-7, S. 783

95. Pl. 497 28, S. 714

96. Pl. 543b 1, S. 716, Pl. 544a 12, Pl. 544b 6, S. 726

97. U. 60a 2, S. 746, Pl. 543b 1, 8, 9, 10, S. 726

98. U. 33 2-3, S. 729.

//*Satuiw mañkri Caku thuiw khle ruy plan taw mū lac so akhā Kukhan arap nhuik cac sukri Asaṅkhyā sim thak nhuik tay taw mū sa akhā nhuik nwā ta khu wak ta khu krak poñ 5 khu se aklok ta chay thamañ aphyan ta chai hañ aphyan ta chai | ī mhyā sa lakhoñ chak ruy*⁹⁹

When the great king *Satuiw* returned from subduing *Caku*, he stopped at a *sīma* of General *Asaṅkhyā* at a place called *Kukhan*. He was given one ox, one pig, a total of 5 fowls, ten jars of liquor, ten pots of rice and ten pots of curry.

Satuiw Mañphyā was succeeded by his brother-in-law *Tryāphyā* III. He became king on 5 September 1367.¹⁰⁰ He was *Ramañsañ Mañ*¹⁰¹ before he became king and popularly he was known as *Mañkrīwā*¹⁰²—the Exalted Great King. He ruled until 1400, i.e. for 33 years¹⁰³. As it was a period of trouble and most of the kings ruled for only short periods, his long reign was exceptional and therefore he was also known as *Saktawrhañ*¹⁰⁴—the Long Life. Although there were some disturbances¹⁰⁵ he managed to have a fairly quiet reign since 1386¹⁰⁶, enjoying life with many queens. We know a few of them. They were: *Cau Nandā*¹⁰⁷ daughter of *Cau Calā*; *Toñ Miphurā Caw*¹⁰⁸—the South Queen Caw; *Mlok Miphurā Caw*¹⁰⁹—the North Queen Caw; *Cau Cactoñ Kuiv Taw*¹¹⁰; *Caw Ummā*¹¹¹; and *Syañ Rhuy*¹¹². The last mentioned one was a wife he married at the age of 22 when he was a petty chief of *Talup*. He took the titles of *Assapatinarapatibhawanātityāpawara-dhammarājā*¹¹³ and *Siri Tiripawanādityāpawarapañitadhammarājā*¹¹⁴. A great earthquake was recorded during his reign. It says:

//*Sakarac 734 khu Plasuiw l-chan 4 ryak Krāsapate ne nālyan kri lup e' thuiw sa nhac lhyañ Pañya mibhurā athin tau phiac tha so mañ Micarañrā sañ Kula kloñ toñ pā kloñ thoñ ut phuiv pru ruy ...*^{114a}

On 28 November 1372 there was a great earthquake. In that same year Lady *Micarañrā* who was a stewardess of *Pañya* Queen, made a brick kiln at the corner just on the south of the brick monastery.

Evidently new bricks were required to do repairs at the religious buildings that were either shaken badly or destroyed during that earthquake. In 1400 he was succeeded by his eldest son *Tryāphyā* IV. His reign was short. His step-brother *Mañ Khoñ* I became king on 25 November 1400.

99. L. 630a 18-21, S. 727

100. L. 770 5, S. 755 L. 647 2,6, S. 730

101. Pl. 499b 14, S. 715; L. 698b 4, S. 739

102. U. 58 2,14,19, S. 745

103. U. 92a 9 says 35 years.

104. U. 63 11-12, S. 745

105. L. 705 1, S. 742

106. U. 64 14, S. 748

107. U. 34a 5,6,7,10, S. 729

108. L. 682 14, S. 737

109. L. 682 18,18, S. 737

110. U. 55a 4, S. 743; U. 58 2,14, S. 745

111. L. 800a 19, S. 762

112. L. 770 3, S. 755

113. U. 58 1,4, S. 745

114. L. 682 3-4, S. 737

114a. Pl. 487 19,20, S. 734

The period under survey was indeed a period of war. Due to foreign invasions cultivable lands were left untended and soon they relapsed into jungle. One inscription dated 1386 gives the following account.

*Mchāmatimā dhañ ā/ Uccanā Mañkrī sañ saṃsarā chañray kuiw krok cwā so kroñ Pañkley tuik twañ cū cam lat ruy Sakarac 617 khu Cissa nhac Tapon l-chañ 13 ryak 5 ne mle 1500 Cayyasatthiy tuik twañ lhū taw mū e' / akhā tapā Taruk phyak ruy tau ati phlac khai / akhluw ka: skhin tuw ā paccañ phlac e'*¹¹⁵

Great King *Uccanā*, being afraid of the miseries of the *Saṃsarā* made enquires in *Pañkley tuik* and on 8 February 1256, gave 1500 (pay) of land from *Cayyasatthiy tuik* to *Mahāmatimā thera*. Because the *Taruk* once plundered (the said lands) became full of jungle. Of these lands, some relapsed into jungle and some remained in support of the Lords.

This extract referred to the Mongol invasion and how they effected agriculture of those days. Nearly a century had passed but the effect of the war was still felt in some parts of the country. We find here that the field abandoned at the time of the invasions were left untouched until 1386. After the *Taruk*, there came the *Syam*. A record of 1342 mentions that the Lord of the Elephant had to wage wars against the *Syam* and he won¹¹⁶. In another record we find:

*Sakarac 718 khu Kratuik nhac Mañ Siñkapatiy! mañ mū so khā lhyañ Khanmwan sūkri kuiw Khyañtwañ cac thuw le ce e' cac ôn khlyiy ra kā nhac sak lañ cwā lhyañ mū ruy Maw kuiw wan e' chu pe e'*¹¹⁷...

In 1356 when Prince *Siñkapatiy* was in control, he let the headman of *Khanmwan* to fight the battle of *Khyañtwañ*. As he won the battle, (the Prince) was pleased. Maw was besieged. (I am not sure of the translation here). Rewards were given.

The widow of *Toññū Mañ* in 1375 said:

*ña lañ nat rwā lā pri Awa mañkrī cac 3 kriñ tak lac so rahan puññā lu tukā tuw sañ mwat so akhā nhuik wat kyak 37 pā acim apā 200 ñā pe ra e' lū tuw mwat ruy se so khā lū myā kuiw ñā kuiw nhañ dhap tu lhyañ sanā cwā ruy lhū so thamāñ kā cā pe so akhwak ñā chai 2 ñā nak ma prat lhū ra e' cac mak phlac so skhin tuw kyan mroñ sañ hī so le ma kyan ce rak paccañ 4 pā cuñ ôn lhu ra e'*¹¹⁸

After the death of my husband, when the great king of *Awa* marched thrice to do battle, all men, monks and Brahman starved. Then I gave

115. U. 64 7-11, S. 748

116. Pl. 465b 16, S. 703

117. Pl. 519a 1-3, S. 718

118. L. 686b 8-10, S. 737

cooked food to 37 monks and uncooked food to 200. When men died of starvation, I had a compassion on them as I had on myself, (and therefore) I had 50 *khwak* of rice cooked twice—night and day, daily and gave them away. When the Lords (of the Religion) became uncomfortable due to the wars, I made them comfortable by giving them complete sets of the four requisites.

This clearly indicates that war evacuees found their way to Taungoo which was later to become a rival of *Awa*. Another inscription dated 1375 makes a comparison of the *Syam* ravages in Burma to that of the Coja attacks at Ceylon¹¹⁹. It says:

/ *phurā sikhān nippān lwan prī sāsanā* 1918 *nhac so akhā nhuik* / *Sakarac* 736 *khu Pisyak nhac Tapon* 1—*chan* 8 *ryak satañ* 2 *niy ā* / 900,000 *so Khañ mañkrī e cac sañ tuiw kuiw lak ruñm tau ā phlañ oñ lac ruy Mrañmā prañ Syam a huñ cuñ kuiw acuiw ra so* *Sīhasūra mañ so Chañphlū Sikhān tryā mañkrī e' mle tau phlac tha so* / *Siri Tiriphawanādityāpawarapañita-dhammarājā phun tan khuiv kyak sariy ne la kai suiw tok pa cwā tha so* / *Mahādhammarājā rhuiv kloñ e' tāyakā alwan tryā sathā cwā tha so* / *Chañphlū Skhiñ mañkri Tryāphyā sañ phurā sāsanā tok pa cwā tha so* / *Sinkhuiv klwan kuiw micchādīṭhi Klañ ti ñak 2 phyak phi prī so thuiw klwan Sinkhuiv Sikrī Bruhmā Catulokapālā* / *Phummarukkha* / *ākāsa nhañ yakkha dewa/coñ ma pā ruy ta kyak ta phan phurā mwan e sāsanā kuiw tok pa ce tat cwā tha so* / *phurā mlat cwā Mitryā e' lakyā rañ hu pyātīt kham ra so Aphayaduṭṭhakāmañi mañkri kai suiw* / *Cañputit thak phurā sāsanā tok pa cwā so* / *Mrañmā prañ kuiw dīṭhi Syam myā thwā 2 ñak 2 phyak phi sañ kuiw lak ruñ prañā tau ā phlañ Syam dīṭhi kuiw nhip nañ nuñ ruy rhe so thak cha thak amwan sāsanā tok pa ce lyak dāna sīla ne ña ma kwañ alyañ coñ ruy rahan puñmā mima yokyā su myā tuiw e' aci aphwā khyamsā tuiw kuiw rhā pe tat cwā tha so* / *Mrañmā prañ aluñ kun oñ cuñ kuiw acuiw ra sañ phlac ruy Tawātinsā nat e' prañ nhañ tū lha kyañ tha so* / *Awa prañ*¹²⁰

Just as in the Island of Ceylon where the Religion shone, (and where also) the heretics *Klañ* had completely destroyed the land so that the Island of Ceylon could revive and the Religion shine again only through the blessings of *Sakra*, *Brahma*, and all the *deva* and through the effort done by the great king *Duṭṭhagamañi* who was the recipient of the prophecy that he would become the right hand disciple of *Maitrya*, on *Jambudīpa* where the Religion shone bright, the country of *Mrañmā* was also completely destroyed by the heretic *Syam* and yet through the might and wisdom of *Siri Tiriphawanādityāpawarapañita-dhammarājā*, who is powerful, majestic and shine like sun and moon, who is a great just king, the donor of the golden monastery and who

119. Luce: "Syam" *JSS*, XLVI, ii p. 198, n. 199

120. L. 682 1-10, S. 737

has a great faith in the Religion, (also known as) the great king *Tryāphyā*, Lord of the White Elephant, the grandson of the great just king *Sīhasūra*, Lord of the White Elephant who ruled over all *Mranmā* and *Syañ* lands after conquering the 900,000 *Khan* soldiers, the heretic *Syañ* were suppressed and the Religion shone again so that the monks, the Brahmins and the laity both men and women could observe restraint and charity and work for their own prosperity so that *Awa* capital of the *Mranmā* land became as pleasant as the *Tavatimsa* (7 Feb 1375).

Although Burma had experienced a century of unrest due to foreign invasions and internal discord, there was some pleasantness coming back as alluded to in the above inscription. Towards the end of the century, with the growth of *Awa*, the kings shew more concern to restore peace and encourage agriculture. We also find that the monks too took a major part in this endeavour to restore peace and grow more food. The monks of the forest monasteries took the lead in reclaiming waste lands under crop.¹²¹

A few months ago I read a paper on "Mahākassapa and His Tradition" at an ordinary meeting of the Burma Research Society and have mentioned that reclaiming the wasteland was on one of the important aspects of the period under survey. I would like to mention briefly here some of the salient points I discussed then.^{121a}

The 14th century was the time when the Buddhist sect of 'forest dwellers' were most active in Burma. Their leader *Mahākassapa* was born in A.D. 1169¹²² and his original name was *Ñā Poñ, Loñ, Sañ*. He was a native of *Parimma* in Myaung township, Sagaing district.¹²³ He was extremely well versed in the knowledge of the *Piṭaka* and his moral conduct was exemplary. He established a forest monastery firstly at *Kyaukyit*. He then extended his monastic establishments to *Parim*, *Amrañ* and *Anim*. By A.D. 1215 he came to Pagan. His name first appeared in the Pagan inscriptions in A.D. 1225.¹²⁴ He had his lieutenants chosen from the choicest of the monkhood and such persons like *Añātakuṇḍaṇḍ*¹²⁵ or *Mahāmatimā*¹²⁶ in his following helped much the propagation of his sect. Such leaders of the sect came to be known as *Saṅgharājā*¹²⁷. They had the power to control the monks and they exercised much influence over the kings of the *Awa* period. The kings gave them the authority to use the *Kanakkatan* White Umbrella. Some of them like *Mahāsaṅgharājā*¹²⁸ and *Pitū Saṅgharājā*¹²⁹ became quite famous. It is remarkable to note that there was one female leader called *Rhe kloñ Saṅgharājā Im Toñ Ruiw*.¹³⁰ Their power declined only after 1500.

During the Pagan period they had had their rivals in the persons of

121. L. 891 9-24, S. 791

121a. See above pp. 81-98 and 99-118

122. U. 199a 9, S. 750

123. Pl. 474 7, S. 706

124. Pl. 123 5, 6, 7, 12, S. 587

125. U. 45a 5, S. 733

126. U. 64 6, 7, S. 748

127. L. 891 9, S. 791, etc

128. L. 845 2, S. 774

129. L. 891 11, S. 791

130. L. 834 2, S. 770

Dhammasiri and *Subhūticanda*¹³¹, but they did not have any rival worthy of note during the period under survey. As a matter of fact, they were the most popular of the Buddhist sects current then. Although they were staying at *Ārañhawasī taw kloñ*¹³², most of them never lived alone in the forest to observe the *Ārañhakaṅgaṃ* as their name suggests. They lived in great monastic establishments, owned vast estates and allowed certain lapses in the observance of the *Vinaya*.

They also got lands in gifts but they greatly enlarged their estates by purchase. Most of their purchases were at the outlying districts where the price of land was cheap.¹³³ In such land transactions, it was usual to give grand feasts to gain the public recognition of the new ownership.¹³⁴ Officials in connections with the land were given cloths of various kinds as gifts.¹³⁵ The price of land nearly always included *siy phuiw sā phuiw*¹³⁶—the price of liquor and meat, and both men and monks were invited to enjoy *pri siy pri sã*¹³⁷ the finishing liquor and the finishing meat. One could imagine how many people would come to a feast where one big bull, one big pig, and over 30 pots of liquor were consumed.¹³⁸ Sometimes the monks would mention their feast as *saṅghika cit ta khu se thamañ nhañ may cã pe e*¹³⁹—one goat commonly owned by the monks was eaten with liquor-rice and meat. Of the meat eaten, beef was the most popular and pork was the next favourite. Of the liquor there were *than rañ*¹⁴⁰ or *yammaka aphyaw*¹⁴¹—the toddy palm juice, *pe rañ*¹⁴² the palmyra palm juice, and *arak*¹⁴³ the distilled or foreign liquor. We find the mention of one Queen Cow dedicating one *poñkan* of *arak* in 1380.¹⁴⁴ Special pavilions were sometimes built for holding these feasts.¹⁴⁵ But usually a feast would be held at any convenient place not excepting a *mahāthera*'s residence.¹⁴⁶ A copy of an inscription found at *Nandamaññā* in *Ajjagōṇa* enclosure of Minnanthu, Pagan, mentions that provisions were left to cook rice and curry for the morning and evening meals of the monks.¹⁴⁷ This practice of feasting and passing gifts in connection with land transactions began to appear by A.D. 1200 and it continued beyond A.D. 1500.

With the exception of drinking liquor, eating evening meals and

131. Pl. 302 (no date)

132. Pl. 465a³, S. 703; Pl. 583a²⁰, S. 620, etc.

133. Pl. 268, S. 643

134. Pl. 224¹⁰⁻¹¹, S. 630

135. L. 682²⁵⁻⁸, S. 737

136. Pl. 231a⁵, S. 632, etc.

137. Pl. 543a²⁵, S. 726

138. U. 58¹², S. 745

139. U. 125b⁶, S. 802

140. L. 952b⁸, S. 852

141. Pl. 233¹⁴, S. 738

142. U. 71b²⁹, S. 760

143. L. 891⁵, S. 791

144. Wetlet Thitseingyi Mingala Kyaung Inscription Obverse²⁴, S. 742.

145. L. 636¹⁷, S. 732

146. L. 671a¹², S. 735

147. L. 277²⁰⁻¹, S. 610. See also G. E. Harvey: *History of Burma*, p. 60.

encouraging the slaughter of cattle, etc. these monks were very much the same with other monks. As stated above they had among them quite venerable monks. Apart from their religious duties, those monks took the lead in reclaiming more land and thus they must have been quite useful to the community in those days.

In conclusion we find that this period is the most troubled period of the Burmese history. Yet thanks to the 'forest dwellers' and the kings of the later period, we find that the foundations were laid for the political and cultural progress that Burma made in the 15th and 16th centuries.

Note: Abbreviations used are:

BEFEO *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*

DSHRI Defence Services Historical Research Institute

JSS *Journal of the Siam Society*

L List number in C. Duroiselle: *A List of Inscriptions found in Burma*. Part I. Rangoon, 1921.

Pl. Plate number in Professors P. M. Tin and G. H. Luce: *Inscriptions of Burma* in 5 portfolios. Oxford, 1933-57.

S. *Sakarac* to which 638 is usually added to get *Anno Domini*.

U Unlisted inscriptions i. e. inscriptions that are not included in P. M. Tin and G. H. Luce: *Inscriptions of Burma* and C. Duroiselle: *A List of Inscriptions found in Burma*.

U 33 Amyin, Minye Kyaung small one face inscription. S. 729

U 34 Pakokku, Pakhangyi, Kyaungdwin Dhammayon four faces inscription. S. 729

U 35 Amyin, Minye Kyaung small two faces inscription. S. 733

U 50 Tada-u, Tedawya, Shinbinthalyaung one face inscription. S. 739

U 55 Sagaing, Ywathitgyi, Pagan Kyaung two faces inscription. S. 743

U 58 Monywa, Hsalingyi, Khuntha, Myalezu one face inscription. S. 745

U 60 Sagaing, Htupayon E. Shed Stone 12 two faces inscription. S. 746

U 63 Sagaing, Hpaungdaw-u (Loka-yan-aung) pagoda inscription. S. 745

U 64 Anein, Tawgyaung, Shwegu Stone 2 two faces inscription. S. 748

U 71 Monywa, Myaung, Kyaukyit, Shwepaunglaung pagoda two faces inscription. S. 760

U 73 Sagaing, Htupayon W. Shed Stone 15 two faces inscription. S. 760

U 87 Amyin, Kyauksa, Shwegyin (Chanthagyi) Kyaung two faces inscription. S. 769

U 92 Sagaing, Htupayon W. Shed Stone 15 two faces inscription. S. 783

U 94 Sagaing, Filokaguru-gyaung, Zedihla two faces inscriptions. S. 785

U 125 Anein, Tawgyaung, Taung Min Khaung pagoda two faces inscription. S. 802

U 161 Tada-u, Kyanigan, two faces inscription. S. 878

U 199 Monywa, Myaung, Kyaukyit, Shwepaunglaung four faces inscription. S. 750

T 200 Tada-u Themaunggan, Yan-aungmyin pagoda small two faces inscription. S. 769

YS *Yüan-shih*